

Message Text

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SUBJECT: ANOTHER LETTER FROM PRESIDENT TOLBERT

1. ON OCTOBER 4 THE LIBERIAN PERMANENT MISSION IN NEW YORK HAND DELIVERED TO ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE THE FOLLOWING LETTER DATED SEPTEMBER 23 FROM PRESIDENT TOLBERT OF LIBERIA TO PRESIDENT CARTER.

QTE DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

I AM TAKING THE OCCASION OF THE ATTENDANCE AT THE CURRENT SESSION OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF MY MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, THE HONOURABLE C. CECIL DENNIS, JR., TO SEND YOU GREETINGS AND SENTIMENTS OF VERY BEST WISHES.

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AS I HAD CAUSE TO INDICATE TO YOU IN MY FIRST LETTER FOLLOWING YOUR HISTORIC ELECTION TO THE AMERICAN PRESIDENCY, AS WELL AS IN SUBSEQUENT CORRESPONDENCE, I CONTINUE TO FOLLOW WITH CONSUMING INTEREST THE MANY FORWARD-LOOKING COURSES OF ACTION AND DECISIONS YOU ARE UNRELENTINGLY TAKING NOT ONLY IN THE INTEREST OF YOUR PEOPLE, BUT FOR THE UPLIFTMENT OF ALL MANKIND. AND I WISH TO COMMEND YOU ESPECIALLY FOR A MOST WHOLESOME FOREIGN POLICY WHICH,

AS FAR AS I CAN DISCERN, SEEKS TO ADD NEWER AND TIMELY

DIMENSIONS TO THE GREAT IDEALS OF FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN RIGHTS, AS WELL AS ACTIVELY PROMOTE GENUINE INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION AND UNDERSTANDING FOR THE FURTHERANCE OF GLOBAL PEACE AND SECURITY.

WHETHER IT WAS THE HEARTENING INITIATIVES IN RESPECT OF THE BURNING ISSUES OF SOUTHERN AFRICA; THE POSITIVE DEVELOPMENTS IN YOUR COUNTRY'S RELATIONS WITH LATIN AMERICA AS EXEMPLIFIED BY THE RECENTLY-SIGNED PANAMA CANAL AGREEMENT; THE REALISTIC AND COURAGEOUS APPROACHES TO THE MIDDLE EAST, TO NAME BUT A FEW AREAS, ONE CAN PERCEIVE A POLICY WITH TIMELINESS PROGRESSIVELY SENSITIVE AND RESPONSIVE TO THE GENUINE HOPES AND ASPIRATIONS OF THE THIRD WORLD AND THE ENTIRE HUMAN FAMILY.

THE MANY ACTIVITIES OF YOUR PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE TO THE UNITED NATIONS, AMBASSADOR ANDREW YOUNG, DESERVE SPECIAL MENTION IN THIS CONNECTION. INDEED HE STANDS OUT AS A SYMBOL OF AMERICA'S NEW AND CONSTRUCTIVE INVOLVEMENT WITH ASSISTING IN RESOLVING THE PROBLEMS ESPECIALLY OF SOUTHERN AFRICA; ACCORDINGLY WE WERE PARTICULARLY PLEASED TO HAVE RECEIVED HIM IN LIBERIA EARLIER THIS YEAR.
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HE LEFT US WITH A FINE IMPRESSION AS HE ABLY ARTICULATED YOUR POLICIES AND GRATIFIED US WITH KIND AND REASSURING WORDS ABOUT THE HISTORIC RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO NATIONS AND PEOPLES.

FOR THE ROLE AFFIRMATIVE OF AFRICAN ASPIRATIONS DURING THE MAPUTO CONFERENCE IN SUPPORT OF THE PEOPLES OF ZIMBABWE AND NAMIBIA; DURING THE WORLD CONFERENCE FOR ACTION AGAINST APARTHEID IN LAGOS; REFLECTED IN THE INITIATIVES OF THE CONTACT GROUP IN RESPECT OF NAMIBIA, AS WELL AS THE MOST RECENT ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS FOR A RHODESIAN SETTLEMENT, WE WISH TO ALSO SINCERELY COMMEND YOU AND YOUR GOVERNMENT. WHILE THE SITUATION REMAINS FLUID REGARDING THE ENVISAGED SECURITY COUNCIL ACTION AS OF THIS WRITING, WE DEEM IT IMPORTANT TO EMPHASIZE THAT A FUNDAMENTAL CONDITION FOR CREATING AN ATMOSPHERE FOR THE REQUISITE PROGRESS IS THE HASTENING OF THE REMOVAL FROM THE POLITICAL SCENE OF MR. IAN SMITH.

AS REGARDS NAMIBIA, THE EFFORT TO PERSUADE A POSITIVE ATTITUDE ON THE PART OF SOUTH AFRICAN PRIME MINISTER JOHN VORSTER SHOULD NOT BE RELAXED; VERILY IT SHOULD BE INTENSIFIED. THIS IS WHY WE TOOK THE OCCASION OF A RECENT CORRESPONDENCE TO HIM TO DO JUST THAT, AND I ENCLOSE FOR YOUR INFORMATION COPY OF MY LETTER TO MR. VORSTER WHICH PRIMARILY WAS AN APPEAL TO ALLOW THE AFRICAN NATIONALIST

LEADER MANGALISO SOBUKWE TO SEEK MEDICAL ATTENTION ABROAD.

WITH REFERENCE TO MY LETTER OF THE 2ND INSTANT WHEREIN I
BROUGHT TO YOUR ATTENTION ATTEMPTS ON PART OF SUN OIL
COMPANY, THROUGH ITS SUBSIDIARY, SUN TRADING AND MARINE
TRANSPORT CORPORATION, IN CONJUNCTION WITH DYNALECTRON
CORPORATION TO SULLY THE REPUTATION OF LIBERIA BY MALICI-
OUSLY ACCUSING HER OF EXPROPRIATION OF THE LIBERIA RE-
FINING COMPANY, I HAVE JUST RECEIVED, THROUGH YOUR EMBASSY
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ACCREDITED TO LIBERIA, AN ADVANCE TELEX COPY OF YOUR
LETTER OF 19TH SEPTEMBER IN REPLY TO MINE ON THIS MATTER,
AS WELL AS YOUR SOUTHERN AFRICA INITIATIVES.

I WANT TO THANK YOU FOR YOUR DEMONSTRATION OF UNDERSTANDING
AND EXPRESSION OF CONTINUING FAITH IN OUR DEVELOPMENT EF-
FORTS ESPECIALLY AS THEY RELATE TO THE MATTER OF THE RE-
FINERY. WE ALSO NOTE WITH DEEP APPRECIATION THAT WE CAN
LOOK FORWARD TO POSSIBLE ASSISTANCE FROM YOUR DEPARTMENT OF
STATE. MY GOVERNMENT WILL CONTINUE, IN GOOD FAITH, TO
WORK TOWARD AN EARLY AND EQUITABLE RESOLUTION OF THE
PROBLEMS.

LET ME ALSO COMMEND YOU FOR THE VITAL SUPPORT OF YOUR
GOVERNMENT TO THE UNITED NATIONS WHICH YOUR PRESENCE IN
NEW YORK TO ADDRESS THIS WORLD BODY WILL ONCE AGAIN
DEMONSTRATE. FOR US IN AFRICA, AS I AM SURE FOR PEACE-
LOVING NATIONS EVERYWHERE, THIS NOBLE ASSEMBLY OF NATIONS
REMAINS A GREAT HOPE FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE, PROGRESS
AND SECURITY.

WITH ASSURANCES OF MY HIGHEST CONSIDERATION AND ESTEEM,
SINCERELY, W. R. TOLBERT, JR.

HIS EXCELLENCY JIMMY CARTER
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. UNQUOTE.

2. ATTACHED TO THIS LETTER WAS A COPY OF TOLBERT'S LETTER
OF SEPTEMBER 14 TO PRIME MINISTER VORSTER.

QTE DEAR MR. PRIME MINISTER:
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I TAKE THIS OCCASION TO COMMUNICATE WITH YOU ON A MATTER TO
WHICH I ATTACH MUCH IMPORTANCE. DISTRESSING INFORMATION

HAS REACHED ME OF THE VERY SERIOUS AILMENT OF MY BROTHER MANGALISO SOBUKWE. IT IS MY UNDERSTANDING THAT FOR MANY YEARS HE HAS SUFFERED FROM TUBERCULOSIS, AND NOW HE HAS DEVELOPED AN ACUTE CARDIAC CONDITION NECESSITATING THAT HE

UNDERGO MAJOR HEART SURGERY.

MR. SOBUKWE, I AM INFORMED, HAS RECEIVED SPECIAL PERMISSION FROM YOUR GOVERNMENT TO SEEK MEDICAL TREATMENT ANYWHERE WITHIN SOUTH AFRICA. AND WHILE I DO NOT DOUBT THAT ADEQUATE MEDICAL FACILITIES EXIST IN SOUTH AFRICA, YET I STRONGLY BELIEVE THAT WERE HE PERMITTED TO TRAVEL ABROAD IN SEARCH OF MEDICAL ATTENTION, IT WOULD PROVIDE HIM A BETTER ATMOSPHERE IN WHICH TO RECUPERATE.

IN LIGHT OF REPORTED INCREASING DETERIORATION IN HIS CONDITION, I AM IMPELLED FOR HUMANITARIAN REASONS TO ADDRESS THIS SPECIAL APPEAL TO YOU TO DEMONSTRATE GREATER UNDERSTANDING BY EXTENDING THE MANDATE WHICH YOU HAVE ALREADY GIVEN SO AS TO ENABLE HIM TO TRAVEL ABROAD IN THE INTEREST OF IMPROVING HIS HEALTH. SUCH A GESTURE ON YOUR PART WOULD BE MOST GRATIFYING AND ENCOURAGING NOT ONLY TO ME BUT TO MEN OF GOODWILL EVERYWHERE.

IT WOULD BE AMISS IF I DID NOT SEIZE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO RAISE WITH YOU THE ALL IMPORTANT PROBLEMS WHICH CONTINUING BESET THE SOUTHERN AFRICA REGION. AND I DO SO BECAUSE I AM FIRMLY CONVINCED THAT THERE IS AN IMPORTANT ROLE THAT YOU COULD PLAY IN THE PEACEFUL AND JUST RESOLUTION OF THESE PROBLEMS.

AS REGARDS THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE WITH MAJORITY RULE IN ZIMBABWE, WE CANNOT BUT ADMIT THAT THE ANGLO-AMERICAN LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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PROPOSALS FOR A SETTLEMENT, WHILE THEY MAY NOT BE PERFECT, PROVIDE A REALISTIC BASIS FOR INITIATING THE DIFFICULT PROCESS WHICH MUST PRECEDE ANY SETTLEMENT IN THAT TERRITORY. IT IS ESSENTIAL FOR THE SUCCESS OF THIS ENDEAVOUR THAT ALL PARTIES DEMONSTRATE GOODWILL AND APPROACH THIS CRITICAL ISSUE IN A SPIRIT OF UNDERSTANDING. TO THIS EFFECT YOU COULD ENDEAVOUR TO BRING MR. IAN SMITH TO REALIZE THE IMPERATIVENESS AND URGENCY OF MAJORITY RULE IN ZIMBABWE, STRESSING THE PRESSING NEED TO ADOPT A TIME-LY REALISTIC APPROACH PARTICULARLY ON THE ISSUE OF LAW AND ORDER. THIS MAY PERHAPS BE THE FINAL OPPORTUNITY FOR A PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF THIS QUESTION WHICH HAS DISTRESSFULLY LINGERED FOR MUCH TOO LONG A TIME.

WHILE WE APPRECIATE INITIATIVES WHICH ARE BEING TAKEN BY THE 5-NATION CONTACT GROUP TOWARDS ACHIEVING INDEPENDENCE

IN NAMIBIA, WE ARE DISAPPOINTED WITH THE SLOW RATE OF PROGRESS BEING MADE. AND WE ARE EVEN MORE APPALLED BY YOUR GOVERNMENT'S CLAIM TO WALVIS BAY, AN INTEGRAL PART OF NAMIBIA, AND A PORT SO VITAL TO THE ECONOMIC SURVIVAL OF AN INDEPENDENT NAMIBIA. THIS UNFORTUNATE DECISION OF YOUR

GOVERNMENT IS BEING VIEWED AS A DESIGN TO FRUSTRATE POSITIVE INITIATIVES TOWARDS THE INDEPENDENCE OF NAMIBIA AS A UNITARY STATE. IN THE INTEREST OF ADVANCING PEACE, YOUR GOVERNMENT MAY FIND IT PRUDENT TO REVOKE ITS CLAIM ON WALVIS BAY, AND IN THIS ACTION YOU WOULD BE LIVING UP TO THE COMMITMENT YOU MADE WHEN YOU VISITED ME IN MONROVIA THAT "SOUTH AFRICA DOES NOT WANT AN INCH OF NAMIBIAN TERRITORY".

FURTHERMORE, YOUR GOVERNMENT MAY ALSO WISH TO GIVE SERIOUS CONSIDERATION TO AN ACCEPTABLE ARRANGEMENT FOR AN EARLY LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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PHASED WITHDRAWAL OF SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS FROM NAMIBIA, THUS REMOVING THE CLOUD OF INTIMIDATION AND FEAR. THESE MEASURES, IF TAKEN IN A TIMELY MANNER, COULD PROVIDE A BREAKTHROUGH IN THE SEEMINGLY STALEMATED NEGOTIATIONS ON THE INDEPENDENCE OF NAMIBIA.

MR. PRIME MINISTER, I COULD NOT ADDRESS A LETTER TO YOU AT THIS TIME WITHOUT CALLING YOUR ATTENTION TO THE SERIOUS PROBLEMS WHICH PREVAIL IN SOUTH AFRICA ITSELF. THE OPPRESSED MASSES OF SOUTH AFRICA HAVE NOW DEMONSTRATED, EVEN MORE THAN EVER, AN IRREPRESSIBLE WILL TO BE FREE AND TO ENJOY HUMAN DIGNITY AND, TOGETHER WITH ALL SOUTH AFRICANS, BECOME MASTERS OF THEIR OWN DESTINY. THE CONTINUING SPONTANEOUS UPRISINGS SHOULD HAVE BY NOW CONVINCED YOU AND YOUR GOVERNMENT THAT NO FORCE IS STRONG ENOUGH TO SUPPRESS MAN'S WILL TO BE FREE.

SO WHILE YOUR GOVERNMENT HAS MADE SOME SEEMINGLY POSITIVE GESTURES, REAL ISSUES REMAIN UNRESOLVED; AND IT SEEMS TO ME THAT THEY MUST BE RESOLVED. AND TIME IS OF THE ESSENCE. IF RANCOUR AND HATRED ARE TO BE REDUCED AND A TRULY MULTI-RACIAL SOCIETY CREATED IN SOUTH AFRICA, YOUR GOVERNMENT WITH TIMELY SPEED WILL HAVE TO INSTITUTE FUNDAMENTAL CHANGES IN ITS POLICIES, WHICH WOULD RENDER SAME TRULY DEMOCRATIC, HUMANE AND JUST.

THUS, MR. PRIME MINISTER, THE DECISIONS WHICH YOU TAKE TODAY WILL DETERMINE WHETHER POSTERITY WILL VIEW YOU AS HAVING ADVANCED THE CAUSE OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY OR HAVING GREATLY CONTRIBUTED TO THE UNLEASHING OF THE GREATEST BLOOD BATH ON THE CONTINENT OF AFRICA.

I TRUST THAT YOU WILL MANIFEST THE NECESARY VISION, POLITI-
CAL WILL AND COURAGE IN CHOOSING THE COURSE OF ACTION WHICH
WILL EARN FOR YOU CREDIT AND RENOWN AND SAVE MANKIND FROM
A FUTURE "TOO GHASTLY TO CONTEMPLATE".

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WITH KINDEST REGARDS, SINCERELY, W. R. TOLBERT, JR.

HIS EXCELLENCY JOHN VORSTER
PRIME MINISTER OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA
CAPE TOWN, REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA UNQUOTE.

3. A RESPONSE IS BEING CONSIDERED.
AMBASSADOR SHOULD, WHEN APPROPRIATE, ACKNOWLEDGE RECEIPT
OF THIS LETTER WITH OUR APPRECIATION.

CHRISTOPHER

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